Caranga:-
Chipaya

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 311 [312] describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 431 343 311 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 419 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (k^{x}as-k^{x}oya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [592] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

Caranga: -
Chipaya

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less
close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their
[89] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the chil-
dren from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them
[88] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from
whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous
progeny.

[122] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20
[231] sheep (ʧa), an indefinite number of pigs (kuʧi), and several llamas
(xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut
in the ear.

[116] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on
/161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark
the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal
which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the
members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with
233 rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals,
which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I
have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye with-
out its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 Sheep shearing (ʧipla) takes place at the same time for the
233 whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for
[242] this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and
all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 Like all pastoral people the ʧipaya are loath to consume the
242 meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the
occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the
meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from
time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their
[231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied
by a certain religious ceremony.

[1] [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias -- Analyst]

[illegible]--147 E-6 (1830-1851) 1955, 1976; 1926 Uru 1926

Carangas--
Chipaya

/161 cont./

233 The llamas and alpacas usually gather beyond the zone scoured by the herds of sheep, but where the grass grows [illegible] gradually lost in the arid puna (Pl. II. A /see p. 211/). The young llamas are the object of maternal care: they are placed under blankets if a cold night is expected and if necessary are fed milk with a funnel. One of my Indian friends stayed a whole day watching a llama whose young did not want to nurse.

231 It is rather strange that the Cipaya do not raise guinea pigs as practically all the Indians of the Sierra do. It is true that the Aymara of Carangas no longer have any, for reasons which I do not [235] know. The number of hens in Chipaya is not as great as in most of [240] the villages of the puna. I do not know what they do with them because I never noticed them eating the eggs or the meat. If some few cats are added one will have the complete list of the domestic animals that the Cipaya have.

241 [238] Agriculture. To the meager income which these flocks bring them the Cipaya add a very limited and primitive agriculture. They cultivate hardly anything but quinua (Chenopodium quinoa) (in the Cipaya: kwala) and cañagua (Chenopodium cañahua).

The cultivated plots (akalla), which are common to the whole tribe and not only to each of the ayu, are situated to the southeast of the village /162/ and to the east of the flooded region called the lakes. Their area is about 300 meters wide and one kilometer long. This very sandy land, perfectly flat and not very wet, is divided across its width into a succession of parallel strips marked out by three series of raised clods of earth serving as boundaries. Each of these strips, which are oriented east-west, is about ten meters wide and 300 meters long.

[243] Each year on Saint Andrew's Day (November 30), these plots are divided among the families, one strip to a family, by the [illegible] and under the responsibility of the alcaldes. If what they say is accurate, the Cipaya practice crop rotation.

[242] The agricultural methods are most primitive. To till the soil the Indians formerly used small hoes with bone handles, [illegible]

J. Velland---1 D.F.-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SFDA Dra SFDA

1. The place of the Dreggsands was from Jo-Do in 1938.

2. Photograph taken from the same point in 1942. The Dreggsands is reduced to a plain of sand, without waves.

Photos by J. Velland

9:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

They do little hunting of land animals, but they may lance the head mole of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

Herding.—The *Uru* have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the scant pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, eating the succulent reed stalks and roots. The *Uru* have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

Farming.—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,500 feet (3,800 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

Food preparation.—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuño. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then sweat it to make a nourishing powder (pito). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

Like all the altiplano peoples, the *Uru* chew coca.

HOUSES

Most *Uru* houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-towers, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bundles of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal reeds in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (tola), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (yareta), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller *Uru* shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Suipuyo *Uru* build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the Isle of Similaque. On the Isle of Pacza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymaras haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayas speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayas to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular bee-hive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called *tola*. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy woolen blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayas are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayas blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into *chuño* flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.[6] Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *bolas*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only *viscachas* (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'amaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semisubterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

[6] The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. *Balsas* are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Storms on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage-*balsa* in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of boating laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily entail the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the *altiplano*. Bandelier noted cannibalism near Sajama in 1898, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was so employed during native uprisings as late as 1923 in this Jesus de Machaca region.